

new constructions. This is not the case—at least, it is not to an observable degree. 342
All the stones used in new building in the village are freshly quarried. Perhaps
the reason for this is that nearly all the ruins have recognized owners, nearly all [425]
of whom are emigrants or their descendants. Even the villagers now admit that
"they will never come back," but their property rights are still maintained, either
because the older emigrants hesitate to relinquish their claims or because their
American-born children are uninterested, both of which prevent local disposition
of the property. However, most of the now ruined houses were of the old style,
whose roofs would naturally go to pieces if not tended. Consequently, the roofs
were removed so that the very valuable timbers in them could be used for other
purposes. This hastened the partial collapse of many of the buildings' walls.

HOUSEHOLD ARRANGEMENT AND FURNISHINGS

Nearly every house has its own cistern (*biir*), either within the building or 342
just outside it. The water is entirely winter rain water drawn from the roof of the 355
house and conducted to the cistern, nowadays, by sheet-iron pipes. This is much 312
more efficient than the older method of letting the water flow down a shallow
vertical trough on the outside of the wall of the building. The cisterns have circular
openings raised off the ground or floor on a stone or concrete cushion. The
opening is fitted, more or less tightly, with a wooden cover.

It is one of the women's jobs to draw water from the cistern by means of a 462
sheet-iron, European-made, bucket attached to a chain or rope. The water needed 416
for the day is stored in large, two-handled, pointed-bottom jars (*jars*), of porous
earthware, which stand in wooden frames in the kitchen corner, or the kitchen
room if there is one. From the *jars*, water is transferred to cooking utensils, to
the spouted pottery or glass drinking jars (*ibiq*), and to the two to three gallon,
semi-cylindrical metal tanks in which washing water is stored. These hang against
an outside wall or in the wash room if there is one. The tanks are called *banafyi*, 411-4
a term primarily applied to the small brass spigots with which they are fitted. [784]
The term is derived from the Hanafi school of Muslim jurisprudence which decided
that the use of spigots was not a violation of the provisions of the Koran. Near
the *banafyi* one usually finds a dish for soap and a towel-rack. A few houses are
equipped with hand-pumps, a raised tank, and a limited system of pipes and [406]
spigots. This, however, is unusual.

The interior arrangement of the one-room house is essentially the same in 352
every case, although of course there are many minor variations. The following
description is composite. On entering the front door, one will observe that the
room is divided into two sections, front and back. The division is effected by tall
cabinets, with doors and drawers, placed across the room. These are used for keep-
ing clothes, dishes, and so on. This means of division may be supplemented by a
curtain. In the front section, a long wooden seat, really a bench with a back and

362 At the ends, extends around the walls. This is fitted with hard, flat cushions which are upholstered in some very light color—often plain white. Very likely a set of modern, reclining chairs, with stiff cane backs and bottoms, will be set formally around a table in the center of the room. Here and there, there will be rather rough wooden stools with soft cane seats. At one side, there will be a large rectangular dining table with a cloth or plastic cover. In some houses, fully upholstered modern easy-chairs will be found.

353 The walls are devoid of ornamentation, with one exception which is conspicuous in the houses which have it. This is a concentrated mass of photographs, some yellowed with age, some brand new, of various members of the owner's family, including emigrants who are fondly remembered. Sometimes, among the family photographs, there will also be one or two postcard-sized pictures of saints or members of the Holy Family. However, as far as the writer is aware, there are no houses which have anything resembling a household shrine, and many have no religious symbols whatever.

(251) Especially in the older houses, there are niches in the walls, often closed with wooden doors. These are used for storage—for example, large jars for the year's supply of olive oil.

Only a close friend of the family will ordinarily be given the opportunity to go *in the maj'al*, or front veranda, to the rear. Here are the sleeping quarters of the family, and cooking equipment will be found in one corner also—unless there is an additional room for this purpose, as is the case with several essentially one-room houses.

352 Every house is wholly or mostly equipped with metal bedsprings, 513 mattresses, pillows, pillowcases, sheets and blankets, all of European manufacture and/or design. Sixty years ago everyone slept on the floor on sheepskins wrapped in blankets or quilted pads. Only suggestions of this practice are now to be found in a few houses.

354 The traditional type of stove was a masonry oven with apertures in the top, in which the chief fuel was kindwood. Very few such stoves are now used. Rather, nearly every house is equipped with at least one "Primo" stove, a small, portable appliance, made in Sweden, which operates on the principle of the ignition of kerosene which has been vaporized by heat and pressure. Basic instructions for its operation are etched on the side of its brass fuel tank in Arabic, Hindustani, and Chinese, and we might say that this is an item in a process which might be called "deliberate diffusion." It is inexpensive to buy and operate and is quite efficient except for the fact that there is only one burner per stove.

415 A minimal assortment of cooking utensils would include: a teakettle; a set, in graduated sizes, of long-handled metal beakers (for boiling coffee); a cylindrical brass coffee grinder; pots, bowls, and platters of various sizes and shapes, made of metal or pottery; and a stone mortar and pestle. Hardware would include a ladle, knives of various sizes, and long-handled serving forks and spoons. Food is served

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Food is served

on china platters and/or round plates. If necessary, everyone is provided with knives, forks, and spoons, but napkins are not ordinarily used. Cups and demitasses are provided for tea and coffee, respectively. (The only kind of coffee which is consumed in the village is "Turkish" coffee.) Wine is drunk from small glasses. The only acceptable way to drink water, however, is directly from the spouted jug called *ibriq*. This is definitely an acquired skill which children are taught as early as possible. For this purpose, a small *ibriq*, usually made of glass, is provided. With the exception of the coffee grinder, usually the coffee beakers, the pestle and mortar, and the *ibriq*, all these items are of European manufacture and/or design.

Although kerosene heaters are readily available in Beirut, the standard means of heating houses in the village is by small, round, charcoal braziers which sit low on the floor. If a social group in one room of a multi-room house moves to another, the brazier around which the group has sat will be picked up and carried along. The idea, in other words, is to keep the people warm rather than to heat the room. The European and American kerosene heaters are undoubtedly more efficient, but they are a great deal more expensive to buy and operate. Besides, the charcoal braziers can also be used for boiling coffee and broiling meat on skewers.

Oil lamps, with glass chimneys, of European manufacture and of the same type which is still sometimes seen in rural areas of the United States, are used in many houses. Everyone keeps a supply of candles in case of emergency. But the most widely used type of illumination is provided by a kerosene pressure lantern. This gives a very strong light and is frequently suspended on an iron rod from the ceiling of the room.

Nearly every individual who is adolescent or older has a flashlight and uses it. On moonless or cloudy nights, the village is enveloped in pitch blackness, with only a few undiffused lights showing here and there from doors or windows.

Floor-covering is provided either by small "oriental" rugs or straw mats. Such ornamental or luxury items as elaborately inlaid boxes and furniture, engraved brass or copper trays, and painted pottery, are rare.

DIET

The villagers regularly eat three meals a day, of which the evening meal is ordinarily the largest, except on Sundays. Breakfast is likely to include the left-overs from the preceding evening meal. Bread is eaten at, and coffee served after, every meal. Lunch tends to be small, and the family is apt to be incomplete at lunch, for men or boys working in the fields usually take their lunches with them—a couple of loaves of bread, some olives, and perhaps an onion or cucumber or two, and a jug of water.

The villagers say that in summer they have more to eat than in winter. The effect, what they mean is that fresh fruits and vegetables supplement the year-

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still rise with the sun, although they go to bed after dark. On the whole, there is no specific horological time for meals. However, the village schools operate on a definite time schedule, and this affects quite a large proportion of the resident population—the teachers and their families, the children, and their mothers who prepare their lunches. Of course, those who are, or have been, working in the city, are quite thoroughly conditioned to clock-schedules. A good deal of apparently unnecessary reference to and synchronization of watches was observed in the village. On the whole, however, it can be said that future plans which involve exact hours are made and fulfilled in a casual manner. Perhaps a valid generalization would be that the average individual regards his watch as a symbol of prosperity, an instrument, on occasion, of practical value, and an interesting toy—all in about equal measure. 405
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Combs, toilet soap, safety and straight razors, shaving lotion, etc. (all of European or American manufacture) are universally distributed. Some people have and use toothbrushes. The women do not appear to use cosmetics to any great extent. 302
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A variety of containers have already been described, but several more must be added. The rectangular five-gallon gasoline can, with its top cut out and fitted with a wooden handle, is widely used for carrying water, cement and other bulk materials. Various sizes of coiled baskets, cylindrical with large handles over the top, are used for carrying food. Large, flat wicker trays are used for carrying such things as bread and laundry and for the display of vegetables in the stores. Formerly, silk worm cocoons were set out on them. 415

Carpenter's and mason's tools—hammers, saws, planes, levels, drills, screw-drivers, chisels, and trowels—appear to be the same in form as they are in the West. Probably most of the items now used are western-made, but most of the forms are very old in the Middle East. 412

Agricultural tools are conservative and of very ancient form. There are no horses in the village (the Arabs use them for riding rather than for traction), and the ox is the chief draft animal. The plow consists of a wooden shaft (in several segments) to which a round iron spike is set at an angle. The timber is a heavy sledge into whose bottom sharp volcanic stones (from the Akkar) are set. (See Thomson, 1936, pp. 134-36, for illustrations.) Grain is winnowed by tossing it up into the air with a rather crude fork made entirely of wood. Small saws and hand-clippers (the only recent foreign element in the toolkit) are used for pruning. The last item is an iron spade, which is, if possible, manipulated by two or three men. One man grips the handle and shaft in the usual manner, and, in effect, pushes the spade. One or two other men pull the spade by means of cords attached to the shaft just above the shoulders of the blade. 407
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The traditional means of communication were donkeys, horses, and human backs and legs, traveling over rough stone paths. To this, can be added a commu- 202

place of one. Close friends of each proprietor frequently sit down with him to a 444
game of backgammon or cards. Other customers while away several minutes with 517
small talk whenever they make a purchase, and small groups of them often collect
in the store, some sitting, some standing, to discuss the news, prices, and to exchange
gossip. There is not a great deal more to it than this. The point is simply that
the stores are not merely agencies for the transfer of goods.

BAKERIES

As has been noted before, there are two, rather widely spaced, bakeries in 256
the village. Like the stores, they are privately owned economic institutions, and 517
they are intensively used as loci of social interaction on the part of women just as
the stores are on the part of men. Here the women meet regularly and for protracted
lengths of time.

The women who regularly make their own bread (some do not make their
own but buy it) do not do so every day. Depending upon the amount she needs
to feed her family, the housewife will make bread anywhere from once every
three days to once a week. Each time she will spend two or three hours in the
bakery with four or five other women. Standing outside one of the bakeries, one
hears intermittently the crackle of kindwood just put on the fire, and constantly
the women's chatter, laughter, and sometimes singing, accompanied by the rhythmical
slapping of hands and dough on stone.

The interior of the bakery in the *sabe* is rather dark since it has no windows 256
and only two narrow doors. The building is trapezoidal in shape, with the oven 348
in the narrow end. The oven is a large rectangular masonry structure, with one
aperture on the side at a convenient height above the floor of a small pit in which
the baker stands. The floor of the interior of the oven is smooth stone or concrete.
The fire burns on the left-hand side of this floor. Between the oven and the doors
there is a large stone slab raised about a foot off the floor. Around this half a
dozen women can sit and work comfortably. To the right of the table and the oven,
between them, there are several bins into which the baker tucks the loaves as
they come from the oven.

The woman prepares her dough at home, making the necessary number of 252
fat-sized lumps each of which will be made into a loaf. These she then takes to 256
the bakery on a large tray carried on her head. The women form their lumps of
dough into disks about a foot in diameter by slapping and kneading them against
the stone table. The operation does not call for the same kind of skill which is
required in preparing another type of "mountain bread" which used to be made
in Mansif and can still be found easily enough in some other villages, a loaf as
much as two and a half feet in diameter. The baking technique is different, and only
one loaf at a time can be done.

The baker is equipped with an elongated wooden paddle upon which five disks 419
at a time can be placed.

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Children in front of village
spring (1962/1953)

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[following p. 27(D)]